

THE LIFE OF

of *Stephen's*

LETTERS

BY

John

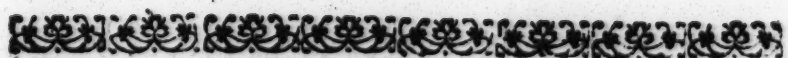
W. L. G.

Vol. I.

270 191



***I**F any be curious to see these Letters in
the Lord Shaftesbury's original Writing,
they shall not be deny'd that Liberty ; and
for this purpose they are left for Three
Months in the Hands of Mr. Peele.*



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1868
Collection

4.W.
R. Peelman
LETTERS

FROM THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE LATE

Earl of *Shaftesbury*,

TO

Robert Moleſworth, Eſq;

Now the Lord Viſcount of that Name.

WITH
TWO LETTERS written by the late
Sir John Cropley.

To which is prefix'd
A large INTRODUCTION
by the EDITOR.

L O N D O N:

Printed by W. WILKINS; and Sold by
J. PEELE, at *Locke's Head*, in *Pater-*
Noster-Row. 1721.

T O A
 Young Gentleman
 A T
 O X F O R D.

I AM not a little glad, Sir, to be once so happy in my life, as to be able to send you a Present; small indeed of bulk, but very precious in value. Such I am sure you'll esteem it, by the knowledge I have of your accurate taste: nor wou'd I take the liberty to offer it, were I not persuaded that it is really what I represent it. The contrary conduct were to offend Your Judgment, and to show the badness of my own. It consists of some Letters, written by the late Earl of *Shaftesbury* to the present Lord *Molesworth*, upon the two nicest Subjects possible, and the most important to Mankind: the one private, the other publick; the first being *the choice of a Wife*, and the second *the Service of one's Country*. I had the honour to have these Letters deposited in my hands two years ago by the Lord *Molesworth*, as a Memorial of the late Earl of *Shaftesbury*, whom I infinitely honour'd, and with whom I cultivated a most intimate acquaintance. I firmly believe it was not the donor's design, that I shou'd publish them so soon; which yet I do not say, as fancying him to be of the fond opinion of those, who think Pieces of this nature ought not to get out of the Cabinets of the curious, till all concern'd or mention'd in them are dead. This, I confess, is the common doctrine, but for all that not the truest; being neither grounded on the example of the wisest of the Ancients, nor on the dictates of common Sense. Who knows not, that

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that most of the best collections of *Roman Letters* which remain, were the greatest part publish'd by the writers of them? They were neither ashamed nor afraid in those days, to send abroad the very *Conferences* they had with their contemporaries and companions: and tho' sometimes no Discourses of this kind had happen'd in effect, yet the most celebrated writers (such as *Plato* and *Cicero*) did not imagine they transgress'd the rules of Probability, by introducing their familiar Friends speaking with themselves or with each other in their *Dialegues*. This practise was natural and manly; while the modern is unnatural and servil. Nor is Reason less on my side than Authority: for what reason can be given, why the Moral and Instruction, the Incentives and Examples, contain'd in the Letters I send you, shou'd not be communicated to those who live now, as well as to such who shall live hereafter? especially, since the present Generation stands as much in need of them, as the future can possibly do. Why shou'd I promise myself to out-live all concern'd in these Letters, since some of them are considerably Younger? or who can secure me, that others will publish them after I am dead? The noble person, to whom they are address'd, has no reason to be ashamed of them: the two Ladies, both she whom the Author courted, and she whom he married, ought to be proud of them; and (what's the chief point of all) none either of the living or the dead are nam'd to their dishonour.

PRESUMING therefore that my Lord *M.* will find these reasons no less cogent than others, I shall proceed, Sir, to acquaint you before-hand with several things, necessary for the better understanding of the whole; and to clear to you the foundations of certain allusions to affairs, transacted when you were but a child. You are too well acquainted with my Lord *Shaftesbury's Works*, to be a stranger to his Character, particularly in respect of his Learning; which, I can assure you from personal knowledge, extended far beyond theirs, whose Li-

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baries are more crouded. Perhaps no modern ever turn'd the Antients more into sap and blood, as they say, than he. Their Doctrines he understood as well as themselves, and their Virtues he practis'd better. But he admir'd in them nothing so much (tho' he acknowledg'd them in many other things admirable) as that Love of one's Country, that passion for true Freedom, which they perpetually inspire, and of which they afford such numerous examples. *Liberty* and *Laws*, in a word, he ador'd; as he abhor'd *Licentiousness* and *Tyranny*. With these happy dispositions, flowing from an excellent Understanding, and adorn'd with untainted Morals, the Lord *Asbley* (for this was his title in his Father's life-time) was chosen early in King *William's* reign a member of the *House of Commons*; where he ever voted on the right side, as hereafter I shall convince you more particularly. He was in some little time, from one of the healthiest and most sprightly young Noblemen in *England*, so violently seiz'd with an *Asthma*, that he cou'd with great difficulty endure the fatigue of Parliamentary attendance; and at last cou'd not bear with the Smoke of *London*, which suffocated him to such a degree, that he was forc'd to quit even the neighbourhood of it. This soon render'd him unfit for publick affairs either in the Parliament or the Ministry. And it must be own'd, that he was not very sorry to find an Excuse from appearing in either for some time: for on a sudden, to the disgrace of the *Revolution* (in itself the best cause in the world) such a notorious and bare-fac'd Corruption, like a universal Leprosy (as one express'd it) infected and overspread both the Army and the Navy, nay the Court and a great part of the Parliament; that the last (on occasion of the Bribery us'd by the *Old East-India Company*) declar'd and voted this Corruption, in as strong terms as I can possibly express it. Another thing that much afflicted him, was to see the very designs of the *Revolution* daily perverted, and the noble effects, that ought naturally to stream from it, like to be frustrated: not by the opposers and sworn enemies of it, from whom

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less cou'd not be expected ; but by many of those, who were the most active in it, and who suck'd in the Principles of it with their first milk. These, finding the sweet of Places and Pensions, were resolv'd to hold or procure them at any rate: and as there are seldom wanting Ministers, who make their Court at the expense of the People's Liberty or Wealth, they became the abject Tools of such corrupt Sycophants; and as ready to fall into arbitrary Measures as the *Tories* ever were, who then took up the Principles which the others laid down, whether out of spite or conviction is not material. This defection of so many of his acquaintance, and this discovery of the rottenness of their hearts, join'd to his ill state of Health, dejected him very much, and inclin'd him to affect retirement. He so heartily expostulated with such as he met of those *Apostate-Whigs*, he oppos'd all of them so much by his Interest in and out of Parliament, and so livelily represented the treachery and baseness of the Measures they were following, that they cou'd not endure him. They gave out that he was splenetick and melancholy; whimsical and eaten up with vapors: whereas he was in reality just the reverse, naturally chearful and pleasant, ever steady in his Principles, and the farthest in the world from humorsom or fantastical. But becoming an Eye-sore to them, as being an eternal reproach upon their conduct, they strain'd their inventions to turn his best qualities into defects. They gave out that he was too bookish, because not given to Play, nor assiduous at Court; that he was no good Companion, because not a Rake nor a hard Drinker, and that he was no Man of the World, because not selfish nor open to Bribes. Of his innate disposition to *Socratic Irony* and innocent Raillery, you have many instances in his Writings, or rather there runs a vein of it thro' them all: but his incomparable Treatise of *Enthusiasm* is a perfect Exemplar of the gay Stile, without Levity; and you know that he has left a whole book in defence of *Mirth and good Humour*. This is more than enough for you, who had not the happiness

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pineness to know him, to wipe off the imputation of Moroseness and Melancholy.

NOW as all Beings have a natural propensity to their like, so my Lord *Shaftesbury* conceiv'd a just esteem for Learning and Virtue wherever he found them; and lov'd extreamly to associate with such as continu'd steddy to the Interests of their Country, and by so much the more intimately, as they show'd themselves champions for Liberty from the beginning, or at times when it was neither fashionable nor beneficial so to be. 'Tis no wonder therefore to find him in the following Letters express the highest value for Mr. *Molesworth* (now the Lord Viscount of that name) so often and in such a tender and passionate manner, seeing he did not only concur with him in opinion and practise, about all publick affairs during King *William's* Government, and afterwards; and had ever unalterably appear'd for the Liberty of his Country, and indeed of Mankind, as well by writing as by word and action: but that he likewise had the same love and application to Letters with himself, had the same relish and admiration for the celebrated Writers and Patriots of Antiquity; and above all, that he profess'd the same Philosophy too, which they, who know any thing of it, will own to have begot a more sincere and lasting Union of hearts and hands, than any ties of kindred, affinity, or Interest. In short, he chose Mr. *M.* for his Oracle in publick affairs, and his thoro' confident in private concerns, to use his own Expression, in the eighth of the following Letters. Nor was this deference to his judgment, solely owing to the observations he made on his conduct in the *House of Commons*, and in the process of his further conversation with him; but begun long before any acquaintance between them, when Mr. *M.* publish'd that inestimable and never dying Book, wherein (to use the Lord *Shaftesbury's* words once more in the same Letter) he pointed out the State of Denmark to other States, and prophesied of the things highliest important to the growing age. This sworn Friend-

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ship (for so I may call it after my Lord *Shaftesbury* himself) between him and Mr. *M.* prov'd afterwards of singular advantage to him in more respects than one. I shall impart to you at present only two instances of this kind; and after I have dispatch'd these, I shall then endeavour to answer the expectation I have rais'd in you, of having those Points briefly clear'd, which occasion'd the passionate complaints he makes of some of his former friends, and his real grief for their no less shameful than shameless Apostacy.

THE late Queen *Anne* falling by degrees, after the first and second years of her reign, into Measures more agreeable to the Lord *Shaftesbury's* notions of the Interest of *England*, both in relation to affairs at home and abroad, he begun to conceive a good opinion of her Counsellors. This favourable disposition was cultivated in him by Mr. *M.* on whose judgment and integrity he entirely rely'd, and who himself was not unactive in the present happy turn of affairs. There was a great intimacy between this Gentleman and the Earl of *Godolphin*, than whom there never was a better Judge of Men. He took Mr. *M.* into his bosom, as knowing him to be thoroughly vers'd in the Constitution, well acquainted with the present state and disposition of the People, and no less skill'd (if not much more so) in Foreign affairs, than any he cou'd easily consult. 'Tis not my business here, to give you a detail of the many services Mr. *M.* render'd to the Lord Treasurer *Godolphin*, and consequently to the Nation: but my Subject obliges me to tell you, that he made known to him the worth and usefulness of the Lord *Shaftesbury*; whom, on the other hand, he fully convinc'd of the Lord Treasurer's ability and clear intentions. He brought them to an interview and *eclaircissement*, showing my Lord *Shaftesbury* how he might be still serviceable to his Country, tho' not in the fatiguing way of Employment or Parliament-attendance; but *by giving his advice to the Minister, and managing the Interest he had in*

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*his Country fuitable to the Measures of the Government, so long as such Measures and Advices were honestly pursu'd. To this he agreed, because he cou'd the more freely give his advice, and insist the more vigorously on the performance of what was promis'd; in regard he ask'd nothing for himself, and went into no Engagements, but purely on the behalf of his Country. There was no demonstration he did not give (as by these Letters will partly appear) that he serv'd the Government disinterestedly. He practis'd the Maxims of his favorite Philosophy, so perfectly up to the profession of its Founder, that he comes little short sometimes of thanking Heaven for his want of health, which incapacitated him from filling any publick Post: for tho' it were discharg'd with ever so much probity and capacity, it might have furnish'd matter of calumny to his enemies or enviers; as all evil Ministers will constantly detract from the good, whose clean hands and equal justice are a glaring reproach upon their own mercinariness and partiality. My Lord Godolphin answer'd all his expectations, and the Character he gives of him to his Friend Mr. M. is equally august and amiable: nor will these Letters be an ignoble Memorial of that great Treasurer's worth. I heartily wish that future Ministers may imitate him, especially in chusing such Advisers (for our present Ministers want none) and when any are so wise, then both the Ministers and Advisers ought carefully to mind the contents of the seventh Letter, to which I refer them. My Lord Shaftesbury, who well knew the weight of Mr. M. wonder'd he shou'd be at any time absent from the great Man, that so justly esteem'd him: but principally, that he cou'd spare him out of Parliament. He easily accounts however for this last particular, and prophetically says in that same Letter, *that such men shou'd be rather reserv'd for the most hazzardous and calamitous times, when publick Necessity and common Danger make their Merits and Opinion better regarded.* Here that good Lord was an Oracle to his Oracle, as the present Conjunction will abundantly justify:*

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THUS have I given you, Sir, the first instance wherein Mr *M*'s acquaintance and advice were of advantage to his Friend; and now I shall give you the second. My Lord *Shaftesbury* living a Bachelor, and his Brother (of whom I frequently heard him declare great hopes, nor, as I thought, without just grounds) unfortunately falling under his displeasure, all his Friends solicited him to marry. They promis'd themselves a future *Patriot*, in one bred up under his care and example; or according to the directions, he should leave to his Mother and Guardians. None prest him more earnestly, out of these very views, than Mr. *M*. nor did any body's reasons prevail more with him, because he was thoroughly persuaded of his sincerity: and certainly his inducing him at last to marry, proceeded more from his love of the Publick, than any concern he had to continue a Family; which is well known to his intimate Friends, and will evidently appear by these Letters to all others. But when he went about it in good earnest, never man show'd more of Honour and less of Interest. As his designs were not vulgar or sordid, so his Morals were pure, and his Maxims generous. How happy the Women, if all Men wou'd court as he did! how much more happy the Men, wou'd the Women like such Courtship, and strive to deserve such Love! To hear him describe his own ill state of Health (which he often desires may not be disguis'd or conceal'd from the Lady) and how unfit therefore he was in all respects to be a Courtier, is pleasant enough; but breathes such an air of Honesty as nothing can exceed, but the directions he gives his Friend, on what topicks to recommend him. 'Twou'd be anticipating your pleasure, to enter into particulars: but when you read the Letters yourself, you'll readily own, that better cou'd not be written by any Philosopher in his closet, purposely for the promoting of moral Virtue. These, on the contrary, are of much greater weight; as being written *extempore* about an actual transaction, with
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the utmost seriousness and sincerity. Wherefore I shou'd never pardon myself, cou'd any consideration divert me from publishing them, for the good of the World: for the encouragement, I say, of such as have virtuous and honourable Inclinations, and to kindle such, if possible, in the breasts of those that are strangers to them; especially considering, that both Sexes have since his time run into greater lengths of extravagant Liberties, than he cou'd foresee or believe, as ill as he thought of many of 'em then. He did not live to see *Masquerades*, or the ancient *Bacchanals* reviv'd, nor to hear of promiscuous *Clubs*.

HE once suppos'd the late Lord *Hallifax* was his Rival, as may be seen in the third Letter: and the delicacy of his sentiments on this Occasion, is of a piece with the general stream of his Morals; that is to say, what few men in the world wou'd act in the same circumstances. The Character he gives of him is so handsom, that none of his profest admirers cou'd mend it in those respects: and it must be acknowledg'd, that the Earl of *Hallifax* was a person of extraordinary talents and accomplishments. His death was a sensible loss to his present Majesty; and they, who knew him better than I, maintain it was no less a loss to the whole Kingdom: particularly, that no such disorder cou'd have happen'd in our publick Credit and Finances as of late, had they been under his administration. But leaving these things to the consideration of better Judges, and to return to the Lord *Shaftesbury*, the Lady's natural temper to whom he made his first addresses, which was easy, humble, averse to vitious grandeur and a life of perpetual show and hurry; together with a suitable Education given her by her Father, to whom she was perfectly resign'd, were the motives that determin'd his choice of her. He frequently expresses his sorrow that she was so great a Fortune, which he suspected might be an obstruction on the Father's side, who had no children besides; or might be thought by other men
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to be the prime motive of his Courtship. To obviate such surmises, he frankly offers to take her with much less, or indeed with nothing, as having no need of any addition to his Estate: and 'tis certain his want of Health, and the little likelihood of his recovering it, his case seeming desperate, was the main objection that sway'd with the Father; who, after some show and expressions of liking (for he truly honour'd his Virtue) went quite off, and wou'd hear no more of the matter. When my Lord perceiv'd this, he display'd his Philosophy like a Hero, determining to marry elsewhere with the same good Qualities, and with little or no Fortune; in which resolution his ever faithful Friend Mr. M. encourag'd and fortify'd him, beyond all others. In effect, he married with the success he promis'd himself, his Lady, who survives him, having all those good Qualities he requir'd before-hand; the truth of which he allows himself in a particular Letter after their Marriage, and is further confirm'd in the account given of her by his constant Companion and Friend, Sir *John Cropley*, in two other Letters, which I have added to complete this whole scene. She made a very tender and dutiful Wife to him while he liv'd, as he the best of Husbands: and now in her widowhood she takes laudable care of the Education of their only Son, who resembles the Father in the manliness of his person, and the sprightliness of his genius, as much as a boy of nine or ten years old can possibly do a person of full growth.

THUS, Sir, have I given you a distinct account of the two instances I promis'd, and which are no less than essential to the right understanding of these Letters; whereof, like most of those he wrote, some are long, but none tedious. His correspondents always thought 'em too short: for he was not only full of his matter, but also fully master of it. 'Twas not his wont to write copies of his familiar Letters, and he seldom read them over. These he never did, as in the eighth of them he tells his Friend; tho',
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for all that, they are not the less correct. 'Tis a great pity, that we have not the other part of the Correspondence; I mean Mr. M's Letters, which by these appear to have been very considerable: but neither is it his custom, to keep any copies of the Letters he writes to his Friends. But the main point is still behind, I mean, the reason of those repeated Complaints the Lord *Shaftesbury* makes against some of his former Friends; whose defection from what they had hitherto profess'd, he often laments: and to what it is he alludes particularly in the fourth Letter, where he says to Mr. M. *that the days are long since past, since they two were treated as Jacobites by their old acquaintance; only for adhering to those Principles on which their Party was founded.* Add to this the uncommon aversion (be it well grounded judgment or prejudice) he expresses sometimes for the Court, a thing very extraordinary in a young Nobleman. A true Account of these things is very material, and I shall freely give it you; not only as necessary to the forming a just conception of these Letters, but as it may serve in some sort for your own instruction and future conduct: since, God be prais'd, you are destin'd to another guise service of your Country, than to lead your whole life in a College. Now, my Lord *Shaftesbury*, whose reason was so clear, and heart so honest, whose notions of Government were so just, and whose whole conduct was so uniform, perceiving such flagrant Corruption, after they got into places at Court, in persons whom he admir'd before for self-denial and publick spirit, begun to be prejudic'd not a little against all Courtiers. He saw so many of those, who were zealous for the *Revolution*, so much pervert the design of it, and so wilfully endeavouring to frustrate the chief Ends of it; that he cou'd attribute it to nothing but Court-influence, which at length turn'd his stomach at times against the Court itself. Observing withal the venality, rapaciousness, and servile fawning of others in beneficial Posts, it shock'd him so, that tho' it cou'd by no means put him out of conceit with the *Revolution* (as being firmly persuaded that

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all Communities have an indefeazable right of self-preservation against Tyranny, whether such Tyranny were exercis'd by wresting or annulling the Laws) yet it brought him to a hearty contempt and detestation of many *Revolutioners*.

THE principal heads which offended him, were their opposing the Bill for *Triennial Parliaments*, that for *regulating Tryals in cases of High Treason*, that for *ascertaining the Judges Commissions and Salaries*, that for *qualifying Members of Parliament by Estates in Lands*, and by *excluding them from Offices and Pensions*, that for *reducing the Standing Forces*, and some other Bills of the like nature, either explaining or restraining the Prerogative. The pretences of his old Friends, for the opposition they made to these no less wholesome than necessary Laws, cou'd not but to one of his probity and penetration appear extreamly frivolous; and therefore, as made by men, who in other things were no fools, extreamly knavish. The first of these pretences was, that the *Tories* were for all these things; to which he us'd to answer, that he was glad they were for any good thing: and that in declaring for such excellent things as these, they wou'd make amends for all the bad things they had been promoting in former reigns; besides that it was not impossible for *Tories* to turn *Whigs*, which he thought far more natural, than for *Whigs* to turn *Tories*. This gave birth to their second pretence, which was, that the *Tories* propos'd only their own ends in these points; as to secure themselves in their Plots by the *Treason Bill*, and to expose the King to an Invasion by the *Army Bill*. He as readily answer'd, that the *Tories* ought as much to share the benefit of good Laws, as the *Whigs*: and that the event wou'd show (as on the first occasion of the *Assassination-plot* it did) that few, if any, notoriously criminal cou'd escape by the help of that Bill; which was calculated to save the Innocent, and to favour such as were but slightly engag'd, or whose indiscretions might be maliciously stretch'd to crimes of the highest nature. As to the

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disbanding Bill; if a King of *England* is expos'd, without an *Army in time of Peace and general Tranquillity* (which is to say, that he must have perpetual standing Forces) God forbid, said he, but such a King shou'd be expos'd: for this is the very danger we have so lately escap'd, and to avoid which we have brought about the *Revolution*. It were ridiculous to talk of Liberty or a Government of Laws, with a King or any other supreme Magistrate and an Army, at the head of it. This, this is the Tyranny of all Tyrannies the most terrible, or rather this is the only Tyranny; since the subversion of Religion and Liberty, of Law and Property, are but the unavoidable effects of it. All the other pretences of the *Apostate-Whigs* my Lord *Shaftesbury* answer'd with equal solidity: and really if the consequences were not of a nature to cause the most serious Reflections, it would have made a man smile at that time, to hear what aukward Apologies some Gentlemen made for themselves; and to what wretched shifts they were driven, to find Arguments against those things, which, in the reigns of King *Charles* and King *James*, they were no less loudly than justly claiming as the legal Rights of Englishmen, and the natural Rights of all Mankind. Nothing cou'd appear more monstrous than this conduct, except the part that some of the then Patriots acted (such is the frailty of Human Nature) in the four last Years of the late Queen; which, without any exception, serves to verify this Observation: *That as Men and Words may change, but Principles never; so the Actions of a Man are at all times a better rule by which to know his Principles, than is his Profession or Denomination*. In one thing however the *Apostates* of both sorts agreed, viz. to lay all the Blame on the Prince; when, on the contrary, Princes are generally brought into such odious measures by evil Counsellors, to serve their own private views of Avarice, Ambition, or Revenge. The like contests that excellent Patriot had about the several *self-denying Bills* (as they are commonly call'd)

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call'd) for limiting in the *Lower House*, the number of persons in Offices and receiving Pensions from the Crown: for it has always been, now is, and ever will be a self-evident Maxim, rooted in the minds of all good Englishmen, *that the fewer Members there are, who enjoy Places or Pensions; the better 'tis both for the Liberty of the People, and for the King's prerogative as well as reputation.*

HE easily expos'd the poor evasions of his adversaries about such other good Laws, as they were then preposterously opposing. But in nothing did he more victoriously triumph over the sophistry of Courtiers and their understrappers, as in their arguments against *frequent Parliaments*, the most essential part of our Constitution, and without which all the other parts are insignificant. The Sense of the people, which is absolutely requisite in the passing of new Laws, or repealing the old, cannot possibly be otherwise known, than by giving them such opportunities to declare it: nor, without *frequent Elections*, can they show their dislike or approbation of the conduct of those they chose last. A *frequent Election*, to say it in a word, is the only effectual remedy against every thing that may happen amiss in Parliaments, no less than in the other branches of the Government. And this is so true, that none were ever known to plead for *long Parliaments*, or endeavour to procure them, but either such Ministers, who, conscious of their own demerits, would perpetuate the Parliament they had brib'd; or rather never summon any Parliament at all, but set the King above the Laws, that they might not be call'd to an Account for their Maladministration: or else they were such Members, as intended to change the present Constitution into an Oligarchy or Anarchy, of which there remains an example no older than the time of our Fathers. On the other hand, there's nothing so dutiful and obliging, that may not be expected from the *free Choice*

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of the People by a King (such as we find his present most gracious Majesty to be) who manifests, by the tenor of his Government. that he has no Interest separate from theirs. I said but just now, what I believe few will dispute, that a frequent Election was the only remedy against all the inconveniences that may happen by Parliaments themselves; as supposing, for example, that thro' any sudden and extraordinary ferment of the People, work'd to the height by what provocations you please, there shou'd happen an Election not for the safety or honour of the King: or that such an Election shou'd not happen for the good and benefit of the Country, thro' the artifices of a designing Prince and his Ministers; will you not immediately own, that the sooner we get rid of such a *House of Commons*, the better? They are not any Votes of their own, that can ever beget an advantageous opinion of such in the minds of those impartial people, who will judge of them by their publick Works, and not by any political Faith, they may particularly profess. This both the *Whigs* and *Tories* have often experienc'd. But what do I talk of brib'd and pack'd Parliaments? The very best, the most freely elected you can imagine, if continu'd too long, grows as it were stagnant, and falls by degrees into such corruptions, as they wou'd have abhorr'd at the beginning. There's *Time* requir'd to work 'em out of the plainness or shame, they brought with them out of the Country: and in such *Time* they fall unavoidably into cabals and factions, evil Ministers, or trafficking Leaders of parties, finding a thousand ways to gain them over, to promote and approve their worst acts. Yet having once lost their Innocence, it often happens that they turn upon their Masters, who are not always able to bribe fast enough: for such as have not been brib'd from the beginning, finding out the secret one way or other, will think themselves neglected, if not brib'd for the future; and all of them will be severally brib'd for every job, when they come to discover in what need such Ministers or

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Leaders stand of their Votes. Some northwards of *Trent* and *Tweed* throve admirably by this trade, towards the latter end of the late Q's reign. 'Tis possible however, that people of this kidney may abandon their Masters to the just resentments of an injur'd Nation, in order to make fair weather for themselves; when either their Fund is drain'd, or that the falling of the Prince into better hands, prognosticates a new Election. Thus it happens with corrupt Ministers and mercenary Members of Parliament, and very often worse, tho' never so ill as they deserve. My Lord *Shaftesbury*, whose Arguments I have summarily given you, was the more solicitous in this Affair of *frequent Parliaments*, as being fully persuaded of the truth of the old English Axiom, that *we can never be hurt but by a Parliament*. I hope it will not be needful at this time o' day, and in this reign expressly founded on the *Bill of Rights*, to answer the cavils of such, who were formerly against *frequent Parliaments*, as expensive and tumultuous, or on some such slight pretence; when the true reason at the bottom was, that they were afraid they shou'd not themselves be chosen again, and so might fail of the comfortable doals they us'd to receive, or that they might perhaps be call'd in question for their past actions. The few Misers of all sides, who, merely to save charges, pleaded for a *long Parliament* (for they durst not own a *standing Parliament* no more than a *standing Army*) are not worth bringing to account. But tho' what I cou'd say on this Subject wou'd at all times be of general instruction, and of Benefit to you in particular; yet, considering that the *present Parliament* is near expiring, I shall add no more: lest I shou'd be maliciously suppos'd to suspect, there were any designs of continuing it, or that any of its Members were under the apprehensions I have been describing. I am far from such views. They know themselves better, and their Country has had time enough to know them thoroughly.

H O W-

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HOWEVER, having mention'd a *new Election*, and that it is more than probable there may be one, by that time you leave the University, you can never be too diligent in cautioning and influencing your Tenants, against giving their Votes either in your County, or in that large Burrough near which you live, for any unreasonable Gainer or Spender (any man known or suspected to be given to Bribery) no more than you wou'd for the known or suspected enemies of his present Majesty's Title and Family, in defence of which I am certain you wou'd spend your dearest Blood. **BRI-BERY** as it is the shortest, so it is the surest way to destroy a Nation; by corrupting and im-basing men's Spirits, by perverting all their Notions and Principles. *England* has had experience enough in the days of Yore, of what such Men have done; and may therefore easily conclude, what such Men will do hereafter. But, as I told you before, that a Parliament in the Lord *Shaftesbury's* time, was miserably tainted with this vice; so I cannot better describe to you the mischievous consequences of that or any the like future Parliament, than in the words of a *Pamphlet* which was printed in the Year 1698, with his Lordship's privity, and which you'll find in the second Volume of the last set of *State Tracts*. It is intitl'd *the Danger of Mercenary Parliaments*. It looks too much like a jest (says that Author) to ask any one in his *Wits*, whether a Parliament fill'd with *Delinquents* will ever call themselves to an account? Or what account wou'd be given, if they shou'd? Whether an Assembly of publick Robbers will sentence one another to be punish'd, or to make restitution? Whether it is possible our Grievances can be redressed, that are committed by Persons from whom there is no higher power to appeal? Whether there is any hopes of Justice, where the Malefactors are the Judges? Whether his Majesty can be rightly inform'd, in
affairs

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affairs relating to the Publick, when they are represented to him only by such Persons, who design to abuse him? Whether the publick Accounts will be faithfully inspected by those, who embezzle our Money to their own use? Whether the King's Prerogative can be lawfully maintain'd by such, who only pervert it to their, own sinister ends and purposes? Whether a Parliament can be a true Balance, where all the weight lies only in one Scale? Or lastly, whether a House of Commons can Vote freely, who are either prepossess'd with the hopes and promises of enjoying Places and Pensions, or the Slavish fears of losing them? There is no present fear of such a Parliament, you'll say; and suppose I grant it, yet one of your years may live long enough, to see a Parliament as bad, or to be in danger of having such: for what has formerly been, may be again. Nor can the subjects of a free Government be ever too much upon their guard against all persons and things, that may be likely to impair their Wealth, or abridge, much more abrogate their Liberties. Even the repeated experience of Probity and Patriotism, is not always a sure fence against subsequent Degeneracy. Such instances of the frailty of Human Nature (says the same Author) may be given within these few Years past, as might make any Man even ashamed of his own Species; and which, were they not so open and notorious, ought out of pity to Mankind, to be buried in perpetual silence. Who can enough lament the wretched Degeneracy of the age we live in? To see persons, who were formerly noted for the most vigorous assertors of their Countries Liberty, who from their infancy had imbib'd no other Notions, than what conduc'd to the publick Safety; whose Principles were further improv'd and confirm'd by the advantages of a suitable Conversation; and who were so far possess'd with this spirit of Liberty, that it sometimes transported them beyond the bounds of Moderation, even to

UNWAR-

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unwarrantable Excesses: to see these men, I say, so infamously fall in with the arbitrary Measures of the Court, and appear the most active instruments of enslaving their Country (and that without any formal steps or degrees, but all in an instant) is so violent and surprising a transition from one extream to another, without passing the mean, as wou'd have confounded the imagination of either Euclid or Pyrrho. This passionate Exclamation was chiefly occasion'd by several of the Lord Shaftesbury's; and that Gentleman's friends, coming into the project of keeping up a *standing Army*, after King *William* had concluded a Peace with *France*, and that he was not at War with any state or potentate on Earth: a Capital point indeed, and what no true Englishman will ever come into; no not under the best of Kings (who cannot stand in need of being attended with such terror to his Subjects) lest bad Princes shou'd expect the like complaisance, to the enslaving or destroying of them. You must not wonder at this distrust of King *William*, whose Ministers wou'd have been content at that time with ten thousand men, and who himself was the least of all men to be suspected of harbouring any designs against that Liberty, he so generously came to retrieve: for shou'd a true Patriot see the archangel *Michael* (a great Prince, Dan. 12. 1.) descend from Heaven at noon-day, and yet receiving advice from mortal Ministers, he ought not to trust him in time of Peace with a *standing Army*, nor at any time with any thing above the Laws; lest his Heart shou'd be lifted up (to use the Jewish phrase of Kings) and that he shou'd turn aside from the Commandment [Anglice the Law] to the right hand or to the left, Deut. 17. 20. or lest his Counsellors might tempt him to be arbitrary; not to procure him Power, but to themselves Impunity. For all the great Learning of your old Tutor, he can never show you out of the holy Scriptures, that other Angels may not fall as well as *Lucifer*.

I COU'D

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I COU'D not answer it, Sir, to the promise I made your worthy Father, of taking all opportunity's to instill into you the love of your Country, and to mark out for your observation whatever pieces might contribute to cherish the publick Spirit you inherit from your Family: if, on occasion of publishing these remains of his dear Friend, I did not oblige you to a more careful perusal of them, by finding this *Introduction* address'd to yourself, from one so sincerely devoted to your Service, as is

z z





LETTERS

FROM THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE LATE

Earl of *Shaftesbury*.

LETTER I.

Dear S I R,

Chelfey, Sept. 30. 1708



WO reasons have made me de-
lay answering yours: I was in
hopes of seeing our great Lord,
and I depended on Mr. *Mick-*
letbway's presenting you with
my services, and informing you
of all matters publick and pri-
vate. The Queen is but just
come to *Kensington*, and my * Lord to Town. He

* *The Earl of Godolphin, then Lord Treasurer.*

B

promis'd

promis'd to send me word, and appoint me a time, when he came. But I shou'd have prevented him, had it been my weather for Town-visits. But having ow'd the recovery of my health, to the method I have taken of avoiding the Town-smoke; I am kept at a distance, and like to be remov'd even from hence in a little while: tho' I have a project of staying longer here than my usual time, by removing now and then cross the water, to my friend Sir John Cropley's in Surrey, where my riding and airing recruits me. I am highly rejoic'd, as you may believe, that I can find my self able to do a little more publick service, than what of late years I have been confin'd to, in my Country: and I own the circumstances of a Court were never so inviting to me, as they have been since a late view I have had of the best part of our Ministry. It may perhaps have added more of confidence and forwardness in my way of Courtship, to be so incapacitated as I am from taking any thing there for my self. But I hope I may convince some persons, that it is possible to serve disinterestedly; and that obligations already receiv'd (tho' on the account of others) are able to bind as strongly, as the ties of self-interest.

I HAD resolv'd to stay, till I had one conference more with our * Lord before I writ to you: but a Letter, which I have this moment receiv'd from Mr. Micklethwayt, on his having waited on you in the Country, has made me resolve to write thus hastily (without missing to night's post) to acknowledge, in the friendliest and free'st manner, the kind and friendly part you have taken in my private Interests. If I have ever endur'd any thing for the Publick, or sacrific'd any of my Youth, or Pleasures, nor Interests to it, I find it is made up to me

The same.

in the good opinion of some few : and perhaps one such Friendship as yours, may counter-balance all the malice of my worst Enemies. 'Tis true, what I once told you I had determin'd with my self, never to think of the continuance of a Family, or altering the condition of Life that was most agreeable to me, whilst I had (as I thought) a just excuse: but that of late I had yielded to my friends, and allow'd 'em to dispose of me, if they thought that by this means, I cou'd add any thing to the power or interest I had, to serve them or my Country. I was afraid however, that I shou'd be so heavy and unactive in this affair, that my Friends wou'd hardly take me to be in earnest. But tho' it be so lately, that I have taken my resolution, and that you were one of the first who knew it ; I have on a sudden such an Affair thrown a-cross me, that I am confident I have zeal enough rais'd in me, to hinder you from doubting whether I sincerely intend what I profess. There is a Lady, whom chance has thrown into my neighbourhood, and whom I never saw till the *Sunday* before last, who is in every respect that very person, I had ever fram'd a picture of from my imagination, when I wish'd the best for my own happiness in such a circumstance. I had heard her Character before, and her Education, and every Circumstance besides suited exactly, all but her Fortune. Had she but a ten thousand Pounds, my modesty wou'd allow me to apply without reserve, where it was proper. And I wou'd it were in my power, without injury to the Lady, to have her upon those terms, or lower. I flatter my self too by all appearance, that the Father has long had, and yet retains, some regard for me; and that the Disappointments he has had in some higher Friendships, may make him look as low as on me, and imagine me not wholly unworthy of his Relation. But, if by any Interest I had, or cou'd possibly make with the Father, I shou'd induce him to bestow his Daughter, perhaps with much less Fortune (since I wou'd gladly accept her so) than what in other places he wou'd

have bestow'd, I shall draw a double misfortune on the Lady; unless she has goodness enough to think, that one who seeks her for what he counts better than a Fortune, may possibly by his worth or virtue make her sufficient amends. And were I but encourag'd to hope or fancy this, I wou'd begin my offers to morrow; and shou'd have greater hopes, that my disinterestedness wou'd be of some service to me in this Place, as matters stand.

YOU see my scruple, and being us'd to me, and knowing my odd temper (for I well know you believe it no affectation) you may be able to relieve me, and have the means in your hands: for a few words with one, who has the honour to be your Relation, wou'd resolve me in this affair. I cannot stir in it till then, and shou'd be more afraid of my good fortune than my bad, if it shou'd happen to me to prevail with a Father, for whom the Lady has so true a duty; that, even *against her inclination*, she wou'd comply with any thing he requir'd. I am afraid it will be impossible for you to read, or make Sense of, what I write thus hastily: but I fancy with my self, I make you the greater confidence, in trusting to my humour and first thought, without staying till I have so much as form'd a reflection. I am sure there is hardly any one besides you, I shou'd lay my self thus open to: but I am secure in your friendship, which I rely on (for advice) in this affair. I beg to hear from you in answer by the first post, being with great sincerity,

Your faithful Friend

and humble Servant,

SHAFTESBURY:

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LETTER II.

Dear S I R, *Beachworth in Surrey, Oct. 12. 1708.*

FROM the hour I had writ you that hasty Letter from *Chelsey*, I was in pain till I had heard from you; and cou'd not but often wish, I had not writ in that hurry and confusion. But since I have receiv'd yours in answer, I have all the satisfaction imaginable. I see so sincere a return of Friendship, that it cannot any more concern me to have laid my self so open.

I WOU'D have a Friend see me at the worst: and 'tis a satisfaction to find, that if one's failures or weakneses were greater than really they are, one shou'd still be cherish'd, and be supply'd even with good Sentiments and Discretion, when they were wanting. One thing only I beg you wou'd take notice of, that I had never any thoughts of applying to the young Lady, before I apply'd to the Father. My Morals are a little too strict to let me have taken such an advantage, had it been ever so fairly offer'd. But my drift was, to learn whether there had been an inclination to any one before me: for many offers had been, and some I know very great, within these few Months. And tho' the duty of the Daughter might have acquiesc'd in the dislike of the Father, so as not to shew any discontent; yet there might be something of this lying at the heart, and so strongly, that my application and success (if I had any) might be look'd on with an ill eye, and cause a real trouble. This wou'd have caus'd it, I am sure, in me; when I shou'd have come, perhaps too late, to have discover'd it. But there is nothing of this in the case, by all that I can judge or learn. Never did I hear of a creature so perfectly resign'd to duty, so innocent in her self, and so contented under those means, which have kept and still keep her so innocent, as to the vanities and vices of the world; tho' with

with real good parts, and improvement of 'em at home: for of this my Lord has wisely and handsomely taken care. Never was any thing so unfortunate for me, as that she shou'd be such a fortune: for that I know is what every body will like, and I perhaps have the worst relish of, and least deserve. The other Qualities I shou'd prize more than any, and the generality of mankind, instead of prizing, would be apt to contemn: for want of Air, and Humour, and the Wit of general Conversation, and the Knowledge of the Town, and Fashions, and Diversions, are unpardonable dullnesses in young wives; who are taken more as Companions of Pleasure, and to be shown abroad as Beauties in the world. than to raise Families, and support the Honour and Interest of those they are join'd to.

BUT to show you that I am not wanting to my self, since your encouraging and advising Letter, I have begun my application, by what you well call * *the right end*. You shall hear with what success, as soon as I know my self. I cou'd both be bolder and abler in the management of the affair, and cou'd promise my self sure success, had I but a Constitution that wou'd let me act for my self; and bustle in and about that Town, which by this winter-season coming on so fiercely, is by this time in such a cloud of smoke, that I can neither be in it, nor near it. I stay'd but a day or two too long at *Chelsey*, after the setting in of these East and North-East winds, and I had like to have fallen into one of my short breathing fits, which would have ruin'd me. But by flying hither and keeping my distance, I keep my health: but (I may well fear) shall loose my Mistress. For who ever courted at this rate? Did matters lie so as to the Fortune, that I cou'd be the obliging side, it might go on with tolerable grace: and and so I fear it must be, whenever I marry, or else am like to remain a Bachelor.

* *The Father.*

HOWEVER, you can never any more arraign my Morals after this. You can never charge me, as you have done, for a remissness, and laziness, or an indulgence to my own ways, and love of retirement; which (as you thought) might have made me averse to undertake the part of Wife and Children, tho' my Country or Friends ever so much requir'd it of me. You see it will not be my fault: and you shall find I will not act booty for my self. If I have any kind of success at this *right end*, I will then beg to use the favour of your Interest in your Cousin, as I shall then mention to you: but instead of setting me off for other things, I wou'd most earnestly beg that you wou'd speak only of your long and thorough Knowledge of me, and (if you think it true) of my good Temper, Honesty, Love of my Relations and Country, Sobriety, and Virtue. For these I hope I may stand to, as far as I am possess'd of 'em. They will not, I hope, grow worse as I grow older. For tho' I can promise little of my *Regimen*, by which I hold my health; I am persuaded to think no Vices will grow upon me, as I manage my self: for in this I have been ever sincere, to make my self as good as I was able, and to live for no other end.

I AM asham'd to have writ such a long Letter, about my self, as if I had no concern for the Publick: tho' I may truly say to you; if I had not the Publick in view, I shou'd hardly have these thoughts of changing my condition at this time of day, that I can better indulge my self in the ease of a single and private life. The Weather, which is so unfortunate for me by these settled East winds, keeps the country dry; and if they are the same (as is likely) in *Flanders*, I hope e'er this *Lisle* is ours, which has cost us so dear, and held us in such terrible anxiety.

I HAVE

(8)

I HAVE been to see Lord Treasurer that little while he was in Town, but cou'd not find him.

PRAY let me hear in your next, what time you think of coming * up. I shall be glad to hear soon from you again, wishing you delight and good success in your country affairs, and all happiness and prosperity to your Family. I remain,

Dear S I R,

Your obliged Friend and
faithful humble Servant,

Sir John Cropley, with
whom I am here, pre-
sents his humble Service
to you.

SHAFTESBURY

L E T T E R III.

Dear Sir, Beachworth in Surrey, Oct. 23. 1708.

YOU guess'd right as to the Winds, which are still easterly, and keep me here in winter-quarters, from all publick and private Affairs. I have neither seen Lord Treasurer, nor been at † Chelsey to prosecute my own affair: tho' as for this latter, as great as my zeal is, I am forc'd to a stand. I was beforehand told, that as to the Lord, he was in some measure engag'd; and the return I had from him, on my

* From Edlington, a Seat the Lord MOLESWORTH has in Yorkshire.

† He had a pretty Retreat at Little Chelsey, which he fitted up according to his own Fancy.

appli-

application, seem'd to imply as much. On the other side, I have had reason to hope, that the Lady, who had before bemoan'd her self for being destin'd to Greatness without Virtue, had yet her choice to make; and, after her escapes, sought for nothing so much, as sobriety and a strict virtuous character. How much more still this adds to my zeal, you may believe: and by all hands I have receiv'd the highest character of your Relation, who seems to have inspired her with these and other good sentiments, so rare in her sex and degree. My misfortune is, I have no friend in the world by whom I can in the least ingage, or have access to your Relation, but only by your self: and I have no hopes of seeing you soon, or of your having any opportunity to, speak of me to her. If a Letter cou'd be proper, I shou'd fancy it more so at this time than any other: provided you wou'd found it on the common Report which is abroad, of my being in treaty for that Lady. This might give you an occasion of speaking of me as to that part, which few besides can know so well, I mean *my Heart*: which, if she be such as really all people allow, will not displease her to hear so well of, as, perhaps in Friendship and from old Acquaintance, you may represent. If the Person talk'd of be really my Rival, and in favour with the Father, I must own my case is next to desperate; not only because I truly think him, as the world goes, likely enough to make a good (at least a civil) Husband: but because as my aim is not Fortune, and his is, he being an old friend too, I shou'd unwillingly stand between him and an Estate; which his Liberality has hitherto hinder'd him from gaining, as great as his advantages have been hitherto in the Government. By what I have said, I believe you may guess who * my suppos'd Rival is: or if you want a farther hint, 'tis one of the chief of the *Funto*, an old friend of yours and mine, whom we

* Charles Montague, late Earl of Halifax.

long sat with in the House of Commons (not often voted with) but who was afterwards taken up to a higher House ; and is as much noted for Wit, and Gallantry, and Magnificence, as for his Eloquence and Courtier's character. But whether this be so suited to this meek good Lady's happiness, I know not. Fear of partiality and self-love makes me not dare determine; but rather mistrust my self, and turn the balance against me. Pray keep this secret, for I got it by chance: and if there be any thing in it, 'tis a great secret between the two Lords themselves. But sometimes I fancy it is a nail, which will hardly go: tho' I am pretty certain, it has been aim'd at by this old acquaintance of ours, ever since a disappointment happen'd from a great Lord beyond sea, who was to have had the Lady.

NOTHING but the sincere friendship you show for me, cou'd make me to continue thus to impart my privatest affairs: and in reality, tho' they seem wholly private and selfish, I will not be ashamed to own the honesty of my heart to you; in professing that the Publick has much the greatest part in all this bustle, I am ingaging in. You have lately made me believe, and even prov'd too by experience, that I had some Interest in the World; and there, where I least dream'd of it, with great Men in Power. I had always something of an Interest in my Country, and with the plain honest people: and sometimes I have experienced both here at home, and abroad, where I have long liv'd, and made acquaintance (in *Holland* especially) that with a plain character of Honesty and Disinterestedness, I have on some occasions, and in dangerous urgent times of the Publick, been able to do some good. If the increase of my Fortune be the least motive in this affair before me (as sincerely I do not find) I will venture to say, it can only be in respect of the increase of my Interest, which I may have in my Country, in order to serve it.

ONE who has little notion of Magnificence, and less of Pleasure and Luxury, has not that need of Riches which others have. And one who prefers Tranquility, and a little Study, and a few Friends, to all other advantages of life, and all the flatteries of Ambition and Fame, is not like to be naturally so very fond of ingaging in the circumstances of marriage, I do not go swimmingly to it, I assure you : nor is the great Fortune a great bait. Sorry I am, that no body with a less Fortune, or more Daughters, has had the wit to order such an Education. A very moderate Fortune had serv'd my turn ; or perhaps Quality alone, to have a little justify'd me, and kept me in countenance, had I chose so humbly. But now that which is rich Oar, and wou'd have been the most estimable had it been bestow'd on me, will be mere dross, and flung away on others ; who will pity and despise those very advantages, which I prize so much. But this is one of the common places of Exclamation, against the distribution of things in this world : and, upon my word, whoever brought up the Proverb, 'tis no advantageous one for a Providence to say, *Matches are made in Heaven*. I believe rather in Favour of Providence ; that there is nothing which is so merely Fortune, and more committed to the power of blind chance. So I must be contented, and repine the less at my lot, if I am disappointed in such an affair. If I satisfy my friends that I am not wanting to my self, it's sufficient. I am sure you know it, by the sound experience of all this trouble I have given, and am still like to give you. Tho' I confess my self, yet even in this too I do but answer Friendship, as being so sincerely and affectionately

Your most faithful Friend

and humble Servant;

SHAFTESBURY.

L E T T E R IV.

Dear SIR;

Beachworth, Nov. 4. 1708.

I WAS at *Chelsey* when I receiv'd yours with the inclos'd, and was so busy'd in the Employment you had given me, by your encouragement and kind assistance in a certain affair, that I have let pass two posts without returning you thanks, for the greatest marks of your Friendship, that any one can possibly receive. Indeed I might well be asham'd to receive 'em in one sense ; since the * character you have given of me, is so far beyond what I dare think suitable : tho' in these cases, one may better perhaps give way to vanity than in any other. But tho' Friendship has made you over favourable, there is one truth however, which your Letter plainly carries with it, and must do me service. It shows that I have a real and passionate Friend in you : and to have deserv'd such a Friendship, must be believ'd some sort of merit. I don't say this as aiming at a fine speech : but in reality, where one sees so little Friendship, and of so short continuance, as commonly in Mankind ; it must be, one wou'd think, even in the Sex's eye, a pledge of Constancy, Fidelity, and other Merit, to have been able to engage and preserve so lasting and firm a Friendship with a Man of worth. So that you see, I can find a way to reconcile my self to all you have said in favour of me, allowing it to have been spoken in passion ; and in this respect the more engaging with the Sex ; who are as good or better judges than we our selves, of the sincerity of affection.

* This relates to a Letter the Lord Moleworth had written in his Favour.

BUT

BUT in the midst of my Courtship came an Eastwind, and with the Town-smoke did my business; or at least wou'd have done it effectually, had I not fled hither with what breath I had left. Indeed I cou'd have almost laugh'd at my own misfortune: there is something so odd in my Fortune and Constitution. You may think me melancholy, if you will. I own there was a time in publick affairs when I really was: for, saving your self, and perhaps one or two more (I speak the most) I had none that acted with me, against the injustice and corruption of both parties: each of them inflam'd against me, particularly one, because of my birth and principles; the other, because of my pretended Apostacy, which was only adhering to those principles on which their party was founded. There have been Apostates indeed since that time. But the Days are long since past, that you and I were treated as * *Jacobites*. What to say for some companions of ours, as they are now † chang'd, I know not: but as to my own particular, I assure you, that since those sad days of the Publick, which might have help'd on perhaps with that melancholy or spleen which you fear in me, and for certain have help'd me to this ill state of health: I am now however, as free as possible; and even in respect to my health too, excepting only the Air of London, I am, humanly speaking, very passable: but gallantly speaking, and as a courtier of the fair Sex, God knows I may be very far from passing. And I have that sort of

* *The truly apostate Whigs, who became servile and arbitrary to please court Empirics, branded all those as Jacobites, who adher'd to those very principles, that occasion'd and justify'd the Revolution.*

† *Here he means some who voted with him in his favourite Bills, and who were originally Whigs; but out of pique and disappointment, became if not real Jacobites [which was scarce possible] yet in effect as bad, by promoting all the designs peculiar to that desperate party.*

Stub.

stubbornness and wilfulness (if that be spleen) that I cannot bear to set a better face on the matter, than it deserves; so I am like to be an ill Courtier, for the same reason that I am an ill Jockey. It is impossible for me, to conceal my horse's imperfections or my own, where I mean to dispose of either. I think it unfair: so that cou'd any Quack, by a peculiar medicine, set me up for a month or two, enough to go through with my Courtship; I wou'd not accept his offer, unless I cou'd miraculously *be made whole*. Now for a Country health and a Town neighbourhood, I am sound and well: but for a Town life, whether it be for business or diversion, 'tis out of my compass.

I SAY all this; that you may know my true state, and how desperate a man you serve, and in how desperate a case. Shou'd any thing come of it, the Friendship will appear the greater: or if nothing, the Friendship will appear the same still, as to me my self. Your Letter was deliver'd: I hope you will hear soon in answer to it. The old Lord continues wonderful kind to me, and I hear has lately spoken of me so to others. Our publick affairs at home will be much chang'd, by the late death of the † Prince. But I have been able to see no body: so won't attempt to write, and will end here with the assurance of my being,

Dear S I R,

Your most obliged and

faithful Friend and Servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

† The Prince of Denmark.

LETTER V.

Dear S I R,

Chelfey, Nov. 20. 1708.

I CAME hither from *Surry* but Yesterday, and found your second Letter; which if I had not receiv'd, I shou'd however not have fail'd writing this Post about our changes talk'd of, which I hope will be to the publick advantage. As to the Admiralty, and the consequences of keeping it in the administration, it had lain under during the Prince's time, you knew my mind fully, as well as my opinion of this present Lord, who, I hope, may with certainty be called *Lord High Admiral*. 'Tis Lord *Pembroke* I mean, who with great reluctance at last accepts it, I believe: tho' he plainly said (as I have been inform'd) that he was inserted only to serve a turn, and that another great Lord (the favourite of our Whig-party) was at the bottom intended, and wou'd in some time succeed him. But I really believe things stand on a better bottom: and, that as strictly as the Lord *Somers* is bound to the party of Friends with whom he rose, he has yet that wisdom, and withall that regard to his Country's Interest, especially under a Ministry of which he is like to have so great a Share; that however the low *Whigs* may murmur, he will be glad to see the naval Affairs in the hands of so universally belov'd a man, so honourable and uncorrupt as Lord *Pembroke*.

BY this you will find I take for granted, that Lord *Somers* comes into the place talk'd of for him of *President of the Council*; and believe it is true that he has kiss'd the Queen's hand, tho' not directly as a Minister receiv'd. But pretty near it you may believe: since at this time of mourning (and so sincere a Mourner as the Queen is) she hardly wou'd see a stranger, and which is more, a Man so estrang'd from

from her, and so wholly off from the Court as Lord Somers has been, and whom I scarce believe she has admitted at any time to kiss her hand; he having been for certain the Prince's aversion, as you may judge by those, who chiefly influenc'd the Prince, and were the violentest enemies Lord Somers had. I must confess I ever wish'd well to this correspondence, there now is between Lord Somers and our * Lord; but can pretend to have had no share in effecting it. With all the other Lords of the *Junto*, I have maintain'd only a very cool and distant acquaintance: but I have ever distinguish'd Lord Somers, and believe so well both of our Lord and him, that the Union between them is upon a handsomer and better bottom, than that of giving up their particular Friends on either side; and even Lord Pembroke, (a *Tory*) on whom all This turns, is a proof, I think, that this change is not wholly a party matter.

LORD Wharton indeed is true steel: but as little partiality as I have for him, and as ill an opinion of his private life and principles, I fancy his good Understanding will make him show himself a better Lord Lieutenant, than is expected. More changes I know not of: nor do I believe many are to be expected.

FORGIVE this hasty sheet I here inclose to you. 'Tis late, and I shall miss this night's post sending hence to Town: so add only my constant and sincere profession of being,

Dear S I R,

Your obliged Friend and

faithful humble Servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

† The Lord Treasurer.

LETTER VI.

Dear S I R,

Beachworth, Nov. 25. 1708.

I SHOU'D be very sorry if you miss'd mine, of last post but one, from *Chelsey*, in which I writ you my whole thoughts of the Changes.

THE Parliament has now far, and for the first trying Question we have lost the *Ballot*, tho' but by nine. Our friends stuck fast. But kindness to this Ministry, which the best men are willing to favour, made the struggle not so great as might be. Sir *Peter King*, our friend, spoke worthily for it. Sir *Joseph Fekyl*, and all those did as before, and went on our side. The late Speakers beset the * new one; and he will have I fear a hard task, if this be not an easy Sessions, as our great news and glorious success abroad is like to make it

AS for my self and private affairs (with which I did not trouble you in my last long one) you may judge by the place where I am, that they go not on very smartly. Making court any where, or in any sense, I find is not among my Talents, if I have any. I have done more in this affair, than I thought it possible for me to have done, having so great an opinion (as I still have) of the Lady. But it is hard, even for us men, to know our selves: harder for women; however wise. She may like a younger man and a sprighelier, far better perhaps than such a one as I am. But I believe such a one will not so like or value her as I do; or in the main make her so happy; so vain I am. But whatever my thoughts are of my self, I am not us'd to set my self off for my Interest sake, and make the best of what I have.

* Sir Richard Onslow, since created Lord Onslow.

Health I have not in the highest degree. Be it spleen, or real infirmity, 'tis the same misfortune to a Lady. Cou'd I make a show of health with safety, and pursue the Lady, where I might have opportunity to win her liking by this means, and appearing better without doors than I am within at ordinary hours; I wou'd not do this, whatever depended on it. But as the season is, and the severe North-east winds, and Town smoke, I am driven from my quarters at *Chelsey*; and think not that I shall be able to return there, till the strength of the Winter is over: so will take the first fair weather, to go to my winter quarters at * *St. Giles's*. A thousand thanks to you for your kind concern in an affair, which I have taken so much to heart. Your writing again in answer, as you did the first post, was mighty right, to me extremely obliging. If I see the least glimmering of hope, you shall be sure to know. I have given order at *Chelsey* about the Vines: Adieu, Dear S I R. I am

Most faithfully Yours,

SHAFTESBURY:

Sir John and Mr. Micklethwayt (who are both here at this Instant, rejoicing with me on the good news from abroad) desire very earnestly to have their humble services presented to you.

LETTER VII.

Dear S I R,

Beachworth, Jan. 6. 1708-9.

HAD I not by accident heard long since, that you were on the road to Town, you may be sure I shou'd be employing the leisure time I have

* His paternal seat in Dorsetshire, which he us'd highly to commend; and indeed I have heard it as much admir'd by others.

here;

here, in writing to you: especially after such long and friendly Letters, as I have lately receiv'd from you on publick and private subjects; and in which you are so favourable to me, as to lay a stress upon my judgment and opinion in the affairs of my Country: which of late years I have been forc'd to look on at a distance, without any thing that can be call'd * a share in 'em my self. I must own I began of late to flatter my self, with a way of service I little dreamt of, and which I never thought my self capable of or qualify'd for † heretofore. I never thought I shou'd see any of the great Men at Court so inclinable to publick good, as to regard or hearken to a man, who had chiefly that at heart: and, to say truth of my self, I always thought I had a stubbornness of nature, which wou'd hinder me from making a right advantage of good Ministers, when ever we shou'd come to have any such. But the being taken down very early in my life, from those high imaginations I had, and those hopes of doing service in the plain way of Business and Parliaments, the mortification wrought so far in my advantage, that I became milder and more tractable: and in this condition you found me, when you laid hold of an opportunity, and with a most particular mark of friendship, recommended me to a †† great Man, and brought me under obligation to him. The little time I have had since with him, I employ'd the best I cou'd, in such advices and such offer of service as became me. Nor do I think I have been any way unfortunate, in giving the least offence; or raising that frightful Idea, which Courtiers are apt to have of Patriots and men of rigid Virtue. I flatter my self egregiously, or I am well

* By reason of his Asthma.

† Giving advice to those at the helm, of which no Man was more capable, both in respect of ability and integrity.

†† The Lord Treasurer.

in his opinion, and have lost no ground. But if it be so, and as I faithfully believe: I will be sworn, there never was a more disinterest'd man in his station: for if I may judge by my self, he leaves it to his Friends, and those he has oblig'd, to be grateful, and to act for him as they fancy, and as their heart prompts 'em; but for his part, he lays no burdens, nor requires any service in return:

BUT this however ought not to lessen the zeal and earnest endeavour of one who is oblig'd, and in a truly honest man it must encrease it; and this, for his own sake, I wish he may be wise enough to know: for I had rather such goodness of his shou'd come from reflection, than mere natural temper and generosity; for he that can see so deep into hearts, and comprehend the mystery of Honesty (a real mystery in most Courts) will never want any of those generous Inclinations which make a worthy Character. But the misfortune is, we Honest men (if I may speak thus presumptuously of my self) are a little mysterious our selves. There is a cloud over us, which is hard to be clear'd up. The rugged paths we walk through, give us a rugged pace; and the idle supine illiterate creatures of a Court-education, have a thousand advantages above us: and can easier borrow from our character than we from theirs; tho' of right there shou'd be nothing fair or handsome, in which we shou'd come behind 'em. And it ought to be a shame, that a mere Courtier shou'd, for his Interest-sake, be more assiduous and better behav'd in every respect; than the man, who makes court for his Country, and tries to profit of the good disposition of great men in power. Our friend *Horace* found the difficulty and weight of this, in the case of an honest man, who lov'd his great † friend, but scorn'd to be a slave.

† *Mecenas*,

* *Scurrētis speciem præbere, professus Amicum;*

And therefore (with a sigh, to be sure) he says,

† *Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis Amici,
Expertus metuit* ———

But we have a better cause than *Horace*, or his friend *Lollius*, whom he writes to ; and therefore should strive to do more. They had only themselves to serve, but we our Country and Mankind. And there was a great difference between those Ministers whom they courted, and the Minister our friend ; for their Ministry was the enslaving of their Country, and the World ; this Ministry is the very delivering of both, and the foundation of a nobler structure of Liberty (by a just *Balance of Power* at home and abroad) than ever was yet laid by Mankind. They are in so good a way, they can scarce miscarry. Nor can they fail of reward in the just esteem and gratitude of the Publick, if they are not most unhappily wanting to themselves in their private Friendships. But if trusting to their publick Merit, or to their Interest in their Prince, they either make no Friends, or such as have not courage and wisdom, their Enemies will find advantages against 'em in any state of affairs.

AS our present affairs stand, I am sure a Minister has need to be fortify'd with good Friends and honest Advisers. He ought to know how he stands with the Publick, how every action and step is construed, and what the People think of matters, before the proof comes in a Parliament. 'Tis my opinion, that a Peace is not so near, as it may seem. I know the hard circumstances the *Dutch* lie under, will make them press for the first terms, that seem any way advantageous. But Matters are not at present to be transacted by a whisper, between two Gentlemen of the blade ; and others must have the

* *Lib. 1. Epist. 18. ver. 2.*

† *Ibid. ver. 86.*

Secret communicated to them, besides * a *Monsieur Bouffleurs* or *Milor Portland*: so great a change has happen'd since that last Peace, both in the Government of *England*, as well as *Holland*! and a Chancellor here apprehends another sort of Duty, as well as a Pensioner there, thanks to the *Tory* Gentlemen, for this their notable furtherance of the Prerogative. For I was one of those sorrowful *Whigs*, who bemoaned the sad case of our Constitution, according to which the power of Peace and War was wholly in the Prince; whilst the *Tories* saw plainly that it was otherwise, and cou'd impeach a Lord † Chancellor for placing the Seal, where I sincerely thought he cou'd not refuse to do it at his Prince's command. But let Lord-Chancellors, and other Ministers look to themselves. If our Constitution was not so then, it is become so now: for not the absolute Command, the Obstinacy, the Rashness, or ill Judgment of the Prince himself (tho' ever so much a principal in the case, or tho' single, or by himself) can justify or excuse the least flaw in a Treaty; for which the Ministers are with their heads to be answerable to the People, as by late precedents it has been establish'd. These difficulties may easily show a wise Minister, that he has need of very discerning, bold, and honest Friends; and such as are not only able by their Advice to assist him, but by their Interest and Credit, be as it were hostages and pledges for him to the Publick, and to that conceal'd party of sober and honest men: who, as few as they are, and as little

* These made the famous Partition-Treaty, which was so ill relish'd in England, and reject'd by the Parliament. For a while it was kept very secret, which circumstance alone is a just presumption, that a Treaty is not for the advantage or honour of the Nation.

† Lord Somers. Lord Portland was also impeach'd; as were at the same time the Lords Orford and Hallifax.

noisy,

noisy, have a much greater part in the influence of affairs, than Ministers are apt to think ; especially those Ministers, who affect a high contempt of *Coffee-Houses* and *Pamphlets*. But it's time to end my scrawl, and tell you the chief reason of it over leaf.

I H A V E been shamefully tedious about publick affairs, but will be shorter about private ; after only asking, how comes it you are not in Parliament ? For your own sake perhaps I am not so much concern'd ; for I know too well what hardships lie upon one, who will not be a slave to a party : and such men shou'd be rather reserv'd for the most hazardous and calamitous times, when publick necessity and common danger make their merits and opinion better regarded. But for a good † Lord's sake I am sorry you are not there : for tho' you may serve him less invidiously, and with more satisfaction perhaps to himself, in another station ; yet he wants those in such a Body as the House of Commons, who are friends to his Ministry, and yet free to act for those they represent. This I know may be shocking in many cases : and if it be so, and the difficulty be invincible, I congratulate your escape ; but condole with another person the want of a more truly refin'd Policy, than I see is understood at Court.

A S for my affair, it hangs just as it did. The more I learn from all hands, the more I see, and hear, and observe, the more I incline, but hope

* He does not mean their care should be in prosecuting, which often proves a worse remedy than the disease ; but by considering the Contents of them, and thereby judging of the sentiments of the People, or at least of some party among them.

† Lord Treasurer.

less: for if I had not fears, that I am wholly disregarded on the side of another sex, I am confident I cou'd go further in prevailing, and shou'd have better interest in our own, than any other. I have this reason, that besides a declaration in my favour, with a liking of my Character, Family, Circumstances, with the profession of a sincere Friendship, which has been of long standing, and all other commendations and professions that I cou'd modestly wish or desire, besides all this (I say) I have a merit that no Body else will rival me in, for I wou'd be glad of obtaining upon any terms: and that which is so hard to be parted with, is what I seek not either now, or in reversion. And let this be a token to you, that I am not cool or indifferent, as you suspect and reproach me in one of your Letters. I wou'd with all my soul ingage my self this moment to the person (were I but lik'd) with a renunciation of every thing of Interest or Fortune, either present, or to come; and if I lose the person, even thus, I shall esteem it a loss: and whenever I shall think of ingaging else where (if this be lost to me) I shall show that Money is not so mighty a thing in my esteem, that it shou'd seem incredible for me to pursue in such a disinterest'd manner.

BUT surely you will not think this so strange in me, that I shou'd value Virtue so much, and Wealth so little. And now that I have spent a whole page upon my self (contrary to my promise) committing my self and my affair wholly to you, and resolving to take your judgment on it, I wait your advices, and remain, dear Sir,

Your most obliged

and ever faithful Friend

and humble Servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

If you direct to me to Sir John's here at *Beachworth* in *Surrey*, by *Darking-bagg*, the post will bring your Letter quick; but if any thing of great importance, a servant of mine shall come away at any time from *Chelsey*, to bring what you have to communicate: or perhaps Mr. *Micklethwayt*, who is often coming hither (generally once a week) may be the conveyor; at least he will send it to *Chelsey*, or see it safe convey'd, if you direct him.

L E T T E R VIII.

Dear S I R,

Beachworth, Jan. 12. 1708-9.

THAT you might not be in pain on my account; I took the resolution, as soon as I had read yours, to send an answer away with the soonest, without waiting the return of the post. So this, which is writ late to night, will I hope come to you to morrow evening by the penny-post, since it is to be in Town before noon. And glad one is of any opportunity of a Messenger, such as go by necessity on their own business, and on foot: for our servants and horses cannot stir out of this bottom, where we are block'd up by the deep snows; and, what is worse, the melted snow now turn'd again by the frost into a crufted Ice.

I WAS already on my Journey to the West, with my face (in the *Jewish* phrase) towards *St. Giles's*; but now I am a sojourner here of necessity. I can neither go backward nor forward; nor cou'd I, tho' I were a robust man: but as a tender one, I know not what will become of me, or my affairs. For no body's affairs ever requir'd their presence more than mine do at this time, and have done this good while in the Country.

¶

BUT

BUT now, as to what you write to me of your being in concern for, on my account, you need fear no resentment or reproach from me on that score. I have that intire dependance on my Friend, that I can always commit my Affairs and Secrets to him as Plenipotentiary; and where I have once given my Heart (allow a Lover to speak in Lover's language) I can easily intrust my Interest. You have long had my Heart, even before I knew you personally. For the holy and truly pious man, who reveal'd the greatest of Mysteries; he, who with a truly generous love to Mankind and his Country, pointed out the *State of Denmark* to other States, and prophely'd of the things highliest important to the growing age: he, I say, had already gain'd me as his sworn Friend, before he was so kind as to make Friendship reciprocal, by his Acquaintance and express'd Esteem. So that you may believe it no extraordinary transiion in me, from making you in truth my Oracle in publick affairs, to make you a thorough Confident in my private. All therefore, that I am concern'd for, in this bold attempt of yours, is for your own sake; lest your partiality to me, shou'd have made you too forward in showing what was not so worthy of being seen as you imagine, and people are apt to think such things are from design. For my own part, I cou'd not but wonder with my self a great while (for I cou'd with difficulty recollect) what kind of a Letter I had writ you: and it is really a solemn law, which I impose on my self in respect of my near Friends, never to write but with the freedom, hastiness, and incorrectness of common talk; that they may have all as it comes uppermost. And for this, I can appeal to my late Letters, and all that I have writ you on my love subject: for I am confident, never so much as read over one, that I wrote to you on that head. But be it as it will, if what happen'd was but natural (and of that you are best judge) I am satisfy'd; and hope it may prove for
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the best, as you seem so positively to assure. And for the other part, my love affair, using the same good judgment you have in this as well as in the other, do as you judge best. I leave all to you : only shou'd be sorry that you ran the least hazard, in going too far out of doors this weather. And therefore beg that your zeal for me wou'd not push you, to what wou'd be a real trouble for me to hear. Take your time, use your own way, act for me with full power, and report your judgment.

IF I have that interest you intimate in a * great man, I can assure you as well for the Publick's sake, as for my own (in real love and obligation to him) I will not indulge my self in any respect ; but be a Courtier to my utmost, and see him often at St. James's, Kensington, Windsor, or wherever he is. Only my health will not bear with any kind of attendance in winter-time, when I am forc'd to attend upon my self ; and by that care, and sparing of my self, have recover'd (when by nothing else I cou'd) out of the most languishing condition for three or four years : for which I have endur'd (and must endure it seems, because of the singularity of my distemper) the judgment of the world, as one fantastical and splenetick. But my near Friends, those of all hours, and that see me in all circumstances, can best witness for me as to that : tho' perhaps, now they are for advancing me in Marriage, they may magnify my bodily estate, at the hazard of that of my mind, which is less (they think) a fair Lady's concern. But I like not the stratagem, and desire to appear in truth what I am ; only if I am more careful of my health against the time of such an ingagement, I may be the more excus'd : and indeed it is but after all what is necessary to preserve me, if I am worth preserving for any good I can do the Publick, or my Friends. Never any

* Lord Treasurer.

one cou'd more justly ask that leave, which you
yourself ask of me,

*—*Ægrotare timenti, &c.*

And therefore, I hope as soon as the hardest of the
winter has spent it self (which is spending a-pace)
I shall return,

† *Cum Zephyris, si concedes, & hirundine prima.*

Forgive this habit of long Letters, which you have
encourag'd. I rest

Faithfully Yours,

SHAFTESBURY:

LETTER IX.

Dear S I R,

St. Giles, Febr. 21. 1708-9.

HOW shall I sufficiently acknowledge the kind
services you have lately done me? You may
well say indeed, that you love not *to do things by*
halves. I am sure you are an intire Friend; and I
am not surpriz'd to find you so: for when my ac-
quaintance with you was only upon publick affairs,
I never found you a half-Parriot. We were then
fellow sufferers, for being *so wholly* what we pre-
tended: and the world, I believe, has made us but
little amends since. 'Tis pleasant to imagine, that,
if we have met with better fortune, it has been by
means of one another. Wou'd I cou'd make it in-
deed thoroughly recipocal! for, on my side, I may
truly say, that the first turning of the stream, which
had run against me, was by your hand; and in this
most desperate Case (which was the injury I re-

* *Hor. Lib. 1. Ep. 7. ver. 4.*

† *Ibid. ver. 13.*
ceiv'd

ceiv'd in an injur'd Friend) you instantly set all right; and what I had with pain, and trouble, and all manner of ill usage, been soliciting for many years, you accomplish'd for me in a few weeks, and gave me my first Friend at Court. After this Miracle, I have had Faith enough to think you might do any thing. Indeed I did not think you cou'd have conquer'd snows and frosts, and have brav'd the hardest winter-weather. Yet 'twas in this season that you made such a successful sally for me, and gave me so good an account of my affairs, which I was almost come to think wholly desperate.

BUT your short and long Letter (which have both come safe to me) as well as the account received from my Friends the post before, give me new hopes. I wish I cou'd answer as well in the matter of my Health, as I can in all other respects, where you have kindly been undertaker and guarantee for me. If I am more careful of my health now than before, 'tis because I have this occasion : and that the more than ordinary care I have had of it of late, has succeeded so well with me. This I am sure of, that I am so far from being averse to live in the world, and to have a share in the converse and affairs of it ; that had I a Wife that was discreet, and good, and capable of advice, I shou'd more than any one be desirous of her being much in the world, and supplying that part for me. My Bookishness has so little reason to fright any one, that if I had ever been of a temper to love Books, better than the conversation of my Friends and Relations ; I am now really necessitated to lay them by, for no body wants little amusements more than I do. And tho' on account of my mind I cou'd boast perhaps, that, in the greatest solitude, I cou'd vie with any one for ease and cheerfulness ; yet since the change that happen'd in my Health, I am not able to apply as formerly ; nor even study above an hour at a time, or hardly as much more in a whole day. And I, who had gone thro' the diversions and entertain-
ment

ment of some Courts, and foreign Countries, and in the company of Ladies, without ever once playing at cards, or knowing any such thing as play; am of late become a Card-player with the women, and am better qualify'd for chat with them, than for speeches in a Parliament or works in a study. Thus most things have their convenience and inconvenience. 'Tis certain, that in many respects I may be said to make a better Husband now, than my Hands are ty'd; than I shou'd have done, if I had been left to act to the utmost of my strength in Politicks. There is a selfishness in the love that is paid a Wife, and in the attendance on a Family, and all the little affairs of it; which, had I my full scope of action in the Publick, I shou'd hardly have submitted to. An honest man must certainly be the greatest happiness of an honest woman. But then, there is bitter too with the sweet; for an honest man will love the Publick, and act honestly in the Publick: and if he does so, 'tis two to one but he is hard set, and perhaps ground between the Parties; at least he will have but a solicitous life of it. He can't so well *vacare Uxori* as the Knave: but then the Knave will be a Knave to her, and *vacare* to other women instead of her. And thus upon a *Medium*, I look upon my self as in reality better qualify'd than ever for a good Husband, if it be to a truly good woman, whose chief satisfaction wou'd be a conversible and chearful way of living, with a man who lov'd and valu'd her; and whose chief thoughts and time wou'd be bestow'd on her and her Children, and to make her life as agreeable as cou'd be to her self, and her part in the world as considerable.

BUT to come to Practice after my Doctrine, you may depend upon it, I will not be long 'ere I return again to you: and tho' after a long absence, and the death of an old servant who had all my affairs here in his hands, I have found things in great disorder, I shou'd value no loss of this kind.

The

The weather seems now to break: and if the roads (as in a fortnight or three weeks they may be) become passable, and the weather tolerable, I will soon come and make my second attempt, with all the strength of friends that I can make on my side. And if I can but have the least kind help from within the place, we may be able to carry it.

'TIS a sad case for such a one as I am, to hang in suspense in an affair of this kind, where I am so passionately engag'd. I find it worse perhaps than another, because I am so us'd to have my head free for publick affairs and thoughts of a larger kind. But I protest, tho' I have twenty things to say to you about the Publick, I can't come out with one. Forgive me I beg you, and place it to the account of that zeal I have in an affair, you have thus forwarded, and is in your hands; as is intirely

Your oblig'd Friend,

SHAFTESBURY.

L E T T E R X.

Dear SIR; *St. Giles's, March 7. 1708-9.*

I SHOU'D indeed have been concern'd very much at your silence, had I not known of your health by your friends and mine, with whom you lately din'd. I fear'd your Constitution wou'd suffer by this extremity of weather, we have had. The Town-smoke, I think, is no addition to this evil in your respect: but with me it wou'd have been destruction. The happiness of a most healthy and warm, as well as pleasant situation, where I am, and which I may really praise beyond any I have known in *England*, has preserv'd me in better health this winter, than I cou'd have imagin'd. And I design to profit of the stock I have laid up, and

and come soon where I may have the happiness of conversing with you. But now you have led me into the talk of Friendship, and have so kindly expostulated with me about my thanks, let me in my turn expostulate too about your excuses for your Letters, or even for your omission. I well know you would not forget me, were there any thing that Friendship requir'd. For the rest, Friendship requires that we should be easy, and make each other so. 'Tis an injustice to a real Friend, to deny one's self the being lazy, when one has a mind to it. I have profess'd to you, that I take that liberty my self, and would use it if there were occasion. But besides other inequalities that are between us, over and above those you reckon'd up; consider that, together with my full leisure and retreat here in the Country (by which means I have choice of hours to write when I fancy) I have also a secret and private interest that pushes me forward to be writing to you, as often and as much as I can. I am ashamed things should stand so unequally between us: for you have not yet had a fair trial, what a correspondent I should prove upon equal terms, nor can I impute a single Letter of mine to mere Friendship. But I am more ashamed still, when I, who should make excuses, am forc'd to receive 'em. See if you are not over-generous! for any one, besides your self, would be apt to use a little raillery with a man in my circumstances; that had such an Affair depending, and wholly in your hands. But I find you have too much Gallantry, as well as Friendship, to take the least advantage of a Lover; and are willing to place more to the account of Friendship, than I can suffer without blushing. However, be secure of this; that when you take Intentions instead of Facts, you can never impute more to me in the way of Friendship, than I really deserve. And if I have not yet had the occasion, of proving my self as I would do to you in this respect; I am satisfy'd, if the occasion offer'd, you would not find me remiss. In the mean time, pray use me with more indulgence

gence, and show me that you can use me as a Friend, by writing only when you have a fancy, and no more than you have a fancy for. You can't imagine what a favour I shou'd take it, to receive a shorter and a worse Letter from you, than you wou'd write perhaps to any Friend you had in the world besides. 'Tis a law I set my self with my near and intimate Friends, to write in every humour, or neglect writing as I fancy: and from this settled Negligence I grow a tight Correspondent, and write when I scarce think of it, by making thus free with those I write to. If you will take my Humour as it runs, you shall have hearty thanks too into the bargain, for taking it off at this rate. Let me but have a small scrap or scrawl (three or four sizes below the first of your Letters, after the late conference) and I shall think my self not only favourably, but kindly and friendly dealt with.

* *Nardi parvus Onyx eliciet Cadum.*

The truth is, I long for another such precious scrap, as I had after your first attempt for me; that if you are as successful in a second, and find that your good advice has made impression, and that there be a real foundation of hope, I may come up quickly to make my second attempt upon my old Friend.

YOUR story of Friendship cou'd not but delight me, it being one of my darling † pieces; especially being in an Author, who, tho' he perpetually does all he can, to turn all Morality and Virtue into ridicule: is yet forc'd to pay this, and one or two more remarkable tributes of acknowledgment, to the principle of Society and Friendship, which is the real principle of life; the end of life, and not (as some Philosophers wou'd have it) the means! Horace in his wild days was of another opinion: but

* *Hor. Lib. 4. Od. 11. ver. 17.*

† This Story, which is well worth perusing, is in Lucian's *Toxaris*, or Discourse of Friendship.

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when

when he came in a riper age to state the Question;

† *Quidve ad Amicitias, Usus Reclamare trahat nos?*

he always gives it for the latter; and wou'd not allow Virtue to be a mere Name. Let who will despise Friendship, or deny a social Principle; they will, if they are any thing ingenuous, be urg'd one time or another to confess the power of it: and if they enjoy it not themselves, will admire or envy it in others. And when they have inverted the whole matter of life, and made Friendships, and Acquaintances, and Alliances, serve only as a means to the great and sole end of Interest; they will find by certain tokens within their own Breasts, that they are short of their true and real Interests of life; for this is in reality,

Propter Vitam vivendi perdere causas.

Your Judgment too, of the first of the parts in the story of Friendship, is in my opinion perfectly just. My natural ambition in Friendship, made me wish to be the Poor man rather of the two: tho' since I have lately had to deal with a Rich one, I have wish'd often to change parts; and keeping the wealth I have, wou'd fain have my old Friend to be heartily poor, and accordingly make an experiment of me by such a Legacy. But I am afraid, he hardly thinks me capable of accepting of it: or if he did, I know not whether he wou'd think the more favourably of me. Mine is a hard case indeed, when I am on one side oblig'd to act so disinterest'd a part; and yet must be careful on the other side, lest for not loving Money, I shou'd be thought an ill Son in law, and unfit to be intrusted with any thing. Thus you see I mix Love and Philosophy: and so I shou'd Politicks and publick Affairs with private, if my

† *Ibid. ver. 75.*

place at this time was not the Country, and yours the Town. However, I can't forbear intreating you to send me word, whether the Proposal about * *Dunkirk* was from our Friend in the Ministry or not? for I heard he dislik'd it, or seem'd to do so; and for the last there may be good reason, as he is a Statesman: for the former, I can see none, but am rather inclin'd to think, that as a generous and true Statesman, he had for many reasons (in respect of foreign and home affairs) contriv'd that the Proposal shou'd seem to have its rise from a popular heat; rather than from the Cabinet council, and as a deliberate thought. But if my own thought of it be fond, 'tis in the way of Friendship still: for I cou'd wish a Friend the happiness of being author of every publick good, that was possible for him, and not to be a hindrance or obstruction to any.

TO conclude, one word about my private affair, and I ha' done for this time. I beg you, when you have been your visits, and made your utmost effort to see what foundation I may hope for, you wou'd write me a line instantly. For tho' I have private affairs of some consequence, that shou'd keep me here at least a month or six weeks longer, I will despise all of that kind: and, now the Roads are passable and weather tolerable, will come up at a week's warning; if a man who loves and admires is known, tho' never seen, can possibly be favour'd, or thought to deserve. For if so, the Cause is nobler, and there is a better foundation for acting boldly.

Adieu, Adieu.

* *The demolishing of its Fortifications and ruining of its Harbour, which was first propos'd in the unaccomplish'd Treaties of the Hague and Gertruydenberg, 1703.*

LETTER XI.

Dear S I R,

Beachworth, June 3. 1709.

TIS now long since I had fix'd my thoughts on nothing, but the happiness of seeing you; and profiting of those advantages, which the perfectest Friendship, with the greatest address, and indefatigable pains, had compass'd in my behalf. There was nothing I might not have hop'd. from such a foundation as you had laid: and all the enchantments in the world cou'd not have held proof, had my sad fate allow'd me but to have follow'd my Guide, and executed what my General had so ably design'd. But not a Star, but has been my enemy. I had hardly got over the unnatural winter, but with all the zeal imaginable I dispatch'd my affairs, and came up from the West, thinking to surprise you by a visit. The hurry I came away in, and the fatigue of more than ordinary business, I was forc'd to dispatch that very morning I set out, join'd with the ill weather which return'd again upon my Journey, threw me into one of my ill fits of the *Asthma*, and almost kill'd me on the road. After a few weeks I got this over, and my hopes reviv'd: and last week I went to *Chelsey*, paid my visit next day to the old man, found him not at home, resolv'd to redouble my visits, and once more endeavour to move him. But the winds return'd to their old quarter, I had *London* smoke on me for a day or two; grew extreemly ill with it, and was forc'd to retire hither, where I have but just recover'd breath.

WHAT shall I do in such a case? To trouble you further, I am asham'd; asham'd too, that I shou'd have push'd such an affair, to which my strength was so little suitable: and yet asham'd to desist, after what I have done, and the vast trouble I have
put

put you to. But Fortune has at length taught me that lesson of Philosophy, *to know my self*, my Constitution I mean: for my mind (in this respect at least) I know full well. And I wish in all other things I cou'd be as unerring and perfect, as I have been in this affair; in which I am certain no Ambition, or thought of Interest, has had any part: though it may look as if all my aim had been Fortune, and not the Person and Character of the Lady, as I have pretended. But in this I dare almost say with assurance, *You know my heart*. Whether the Lady does, or ever will, God knows: for I have scarce the heart left to tell it her, had I the opportunity.

S O much for my sad Fortune.

I H O P E however to be at *Chelsey* again in a few days, and I long for the happiness of seeing you there: for I have no hopes of being able to wait on you at your Lodgings.

I F the Queen goes soon to *Windsor*, I hope soon to see the great man, our Friend; whom I can easier visit there, than at *St. James's*. He has been so kind to enquire after me with particular favour, and has sent me a kind message in relation to publick affairs.

I am, Dear S I R,
Your most obliged Friend,
And faithful humble Servant,

SHAFTESBURY.

L E T T E R XII.

My dear Friend,

Chelsey, June 15. 1709.

I W A S this Day to wait again on my old Lord. I found him as civil and obliging as ever. But when I came to make mention of my affair, I found
the

the subject was uneasy to him. I did but take occasion, when he spoke in praise of my little House and Study, to tell him I built it in a different view from what his Lordship knew me to have of late: for I had then (I told him) no thoughts beyond a single life. I wou'd have added, that since I was unhappy in my first offer, and had turn'd my thoughts as I had lately done, when I flatter'd my self in the hopes of his favour, I cou'd no longer enjoy the place or his neighbourhood, with the satisfaction I had done before. --- But I found he was deaf on this ear. He seem'd to express all the uneasiness that cou'd be, and I cou'd go no further. I see there is no hope left for me. If he thought any one sincere, I believe I might be as likely as any one to be trusted by him. But I am afraid he thinks but the worse of me, for pretending to value his Daughter as I do: and for protesting, that I wou'd be glad to take her without a farthing, present or future; and yet settle all I have, as I have offer'd him. He will not easily find such a Friend and Son in law; one that has such a regard for him and his.

BUT so it must be. He may suffer perhaps, as well as I. There is no help for this, when men are too crafty to see plain; and too interested, to see their real Friends and Interest. I shall soon shew my sincerity in one respect, if I live: for since I cannot have the woman I have seen and lik'd, I may determine perhaps on one I have never seen; and take a Lady for a Character only without a Fortune (which I want not) since you and other Friends are so kindly importunate, and pressing, on this concern of mine.

BUT of this more when I see you next, with a thousand acknowledgments and thanks, for the thorough Friendship you have shown; and what is so truly Friendship, that I almost think I injure it, when I speak of thanks and acknowledgments.

YOU

YOU will have me take all of this kind in another manner : and therefore on the same foot, I expect you shou'd take all that I have done or ever can do, without ceremony, and as

*Your faithful Friend,
And humble Servant,*

SHAFTESBURY.

LETTER XIII.

My dear Friend, *Beachworth, July 19. 1709.*

I CAN hardly be reconcil'd to you, for saying so much as you have done, to express your concern for the disappointment of my grand affair. I am not so ill a Friend, nor have liv'd so little in the world, as not to know by experience, that a disappointment in a Friend's concern, is often of more trouble to one, than in one's own. And I was so satisfy'd this was your case, that I was willing to diminish the loss, and make as slight of it as possible ; the better to comfort you, and prevent your being too much concern'd at what had happen'd. As to the Fortune, I might sincerely have done it ; but as to the Lady, I own the loss is great enough : for besides her Character and Education, she was the first I turn'd my thoughts upon, after the promise you had drawn from me the year before ; when you join'd with some Friends of mine, in kindly pressing me to think of the continuance of a Family. Methinks now, I might be acquitted, after this attempt I have made. But you have taken occasion from the ill success of it, to prove how much more still you are my Friend, in desiring to make the most of me, while I live, and keep what you can of me for memory-sake afterwards. This is the kindest part in the world : and I can't bring myself so much as to suppose a possibility of your flattering me. I have an easy faith in Friendship. My
Friends

Friends may dispose of me as they please, when they thus lay claim to me : and whilst they find me of any use to them, or think I have any power still to serve Mankind or my Country, in such a sphere as is yet left for me ; I can live as happy in a crazy state of health, and out of the way of pleasures and diversions, as if I enjoy'd 'em in the highest degree. If Marriage can be suitable to such a circumstance of life, I am content to engage. I must do my best, to render it agreeable to those I engage with : and my Choice, I am sensible, ought for this reason to be as you have wisely prescrib'd for me. I must resolve to sacrifice other Advantages, to obtain what is principal and essential in my case.

W H A T other people will say of such a Match, I know not ; nor what motive they will assign for it, when Interest is set aside. Love, I fear, will be scarce a tolerable pretence in such a one as I am : and for a Family, I have a Brother still alive, whom I may have still some hopes of. What a weakness then wou'd it be thought in me, to marry with little or no Fortune, and not in the highest degree of Quality neither ? Will it be enough, that I take a Breeder out of a good Family, with a right Education, fit for a mere Wife ; and with no advantages but simple Innocence, Modesty, and the plain qualities of a good Mother, and a good Nurse ? This is as little the modern relish, as that old fashion'd wife of *Horace's*,

* *Sabina qualis, aut perusta solibus
Pernicis Uxor Appuli.*

Can you or my Friends, who press me to this, bear me out in it ? See, if with all the notions of Virtue (which you, more than any one, have help'd to propagate in this Age) it be possible to make such an affair pass tolerable in the world ! The experiment,

* *Epod. 2. ver. 41.*

however,

however shall be made, if I live out this summer :
and you shall hear me say, as the old Batchelor in
the *Latin Menander*, with a little alteration,

* *Et si hoc molestum, — atque alienum a vita mea
Videtur ; si vos tantopere istuc voltis, fiat.*

You see upon what foot of Friendship I treat
you. Judge whether it be necessary for you hereafter
to say much in order to convince me, what a Friend
you are : and for my own part, I have reduc'd you,
I am confident, to the necessity of believing me,
either the most insincere of all men, or the most
faithfully

Your Friend and humble Servant,
SHAFTESBURY.

I miss'd our great Friend, when I was last to visit
him at St. James's. I intend for *Windfor* very soon,
if I am able.

LETTER XIV.

Dear S I R, *Reygate in Surry, Nov. 17. 1709.*

IF I have had any real joy in my new State, it was
then chiefly when I receiv'd yours, that wish'd it
me. The two or three Friends, whom, besides
your self, I pretend to call by that name, were so
much parties to the affair, and so near me, that their
part of Congratulation was in a manner anticipated.
Happily you were at a good distance, and *pointe
de vue*, to see right : for as little trust as I allow to
the common Friendship of the world, I am so pre-
sumptuous in this case of a near and intimate Friend ;
that instead of mistrusting their affection, I am ra-
ther afraid of its rendering them too partial. The

* *Terent. Adelp. Act. 5. Sc. 8. ver. 21.*

interest and part, which I believe them ready to take in my concern, makes me wish 'em sometimes to see me (as they shou'd do themselves) from a distance, and in a less favourable light. So that although I have had *Godfathers* to my Match, I have not been *confirm'd* till I had your approbation: and though (thank God) I have had Faith to believe my self a good Christian, without Episcopal Confirmation; I shou'd have thought my self an ill Husband, and but half marry'd, if I had not receiv'd your concluding Sentence, and friendly Blessing. In good earnest (for to you I am not ashamed to say it) I have for many years known no other Pleasure, or Interest, or Satisfaction, in doing any thing; but as I thought it right, and what became me to my Friends and Country. Not that I think, I had the less Pleasure for this reason; but Honesty will always be thought a melancholly thing to those, who go but half way into the reason of it; and are Honest by chance, or by force of nature, not by reason and conviction. Were I to talk of Marriage, and forc'd to speak my mind plainly, and without the help of humour or raillery; I shou'd doubtless offend the most part of sober marry'd people, and the Ladies chiefly: for I shou'd in reality think I did wonders, in extolling the happiness of my new state, and the merit of my Wife in particular; by saying, *that I verily thought my self as happy a man now as ever.* And is not that subject enough of Joy! What wou'd a man of sense wish more? For my own part, if I find any sincere Joy, it's because I promis'd my self no other, than the satisfaction of my Friends; who thought my Family worth preserving, and my self worth nursing in an indifferent crazy state, to which a Wife (if a real good one) is a great help. Such a one I have found: and if, by her help or care, I can regain a tolerable share of health; you may be sure it will be employ'd as you desire, since my Marriage it self was but a means to that End.

I HAVE deferr'd three or four Posts the answering yours, in expectation of reporting something to you from our great Lord, to whom I had lately sent a Letter; he having before let me know, that he wou'd soon write to me upon something of moment: but as yet I have heard nothing. Only, as oft as he sees a Friend of ours, he enquires after me with particular kindness. I am now at such a convenient distance from him, whether he be at St. James's, Kensington, or Windsor; that, when the weather and wind serves for me, and I am tolerably well, I can in four or five hours driving be ready to attend him. Other attendance I am not, you know, capable of; nor can I expect such a change of Health, as that comes to: for sincerely it depends on that alone. As proudly as I have carry'd my self to other Ministers, I cou'd as willingly pass a morning waiting at his Levee, as any where else in the world.

WHEN last I was with him at Windsor, you may be sure, I cou'd not omit speaking to him of your self. The time I had with him was much interrupted by company. I know not how my Interest, on such a foot as this, is like to grow: but I am certain it shall not want any cultivating, which an honest man, and in my circumstances, can possibly bestow upon it. If he has, or comes to have any good opinion of my Capacity or Knowledge, he must withal regard me in the choice I make of Friends. And if it happens, as fortunately as it has done, that the chief Friend I have, and the first whom I consider in publick affairs, was previously his own acquaintance and prov'd Friend; one wou'd think, he shou'd afterwards come to set a higher value upon him: and since he cannot have one always near him, who gladly wou'd be so; he will oblige another, who is willing and able. And in reality, if at this time your coming up depends only on his wish (as you tell me) and the commands he may have for you; I shall much wonder if he forgets the advantage, or

thinks he can dispense with your presence at such a time.

YOUR Character of Lord *Wharton* is very generous. I am glad to hear so well of him. If ever I expected any publick Good, where Virtue was wholly sunk, 'twas in his Character: the most mysterious of any in my account, for this reason. But I have seen many proofs of this monstrous compound in him, of the very worst and best. A thousand kind thanks to you in my own and Spouse's name, for your kind thoughts of seeing us. I add only my repeated service and good wishes, as

Your old and faithful Friend,

And obliged humble Servant,

SHAFTESBURY.





Two L E T T E R S *from*
Sir John Cropley.

L E T T E R I.

Dear S I R,

MY Lord *Shaftesbury* has desir'd me, to make you his excuse at this time; and I am sure when I tell you what hinders him, you will be more pleas'd with a Letter from me, than with any you have ever had from him. However, I know in a Post or two he will do it himself; and tell you he is come acquainted with a person that has every Qualification, but equality of Fortune, to make her a suitable match. I believe no man ever had a surer prospect of his own and Families happiness. I am only concern'd that so good a Friend as you, are not here, to be that way a partaker with my self of this; and my Lord laments it himself as much. His Health, which is our best article, is become so good this weather, that he has been able to make his *Windsor* Journey, without hurting himself: and the good impression your Friend, my Lord Treasurer, made at first on my Lord, daily increases. And I must own, since our Friend has steer'd by our compass, and has taken this resolution at our request, and for his Country's good, I wish it was as such told your Friend my Lord Treasurer; and the more, since I find
my

my Lord *Shaftesbury* is desirous of cultivating all ways the foot they now stand on. I wou'd * not have this pass for a light act, which in it self is so far from it. And I must say again, the Choice is so good in all respects but that one, which my Lord is very well able to dispense with, that even some *Whig* friends that don't love him (whatever they pretend) for so often putting them out of countenance, and arraigning their conduct, will not be able to wound him at all: tho', as a sincere Friend to my Lord *Shaftesbury*, I must own 'tis the only place I fear hurt from; and so, am the more willing to put you in mind of this fence against it. If your occasions shou'd be so pressing, to get the better of your inclinations, and keep you from doing this in the best way; yet I hope, in your corresponding with my Lord Treasurer, you will remember this by the very first opportunity. My Lord *Shaftesbury* is now at *Beachworth*. I shall be with him to morrow: and Mr. *Micklethwaye*, who is now here, will have me add his humble respects. I can say, no man is with greater faithfulness, gratitude, and respect, than my self,

Dear S I R,

Your most humble and

most obedient Servant.

Red-Lyon Square,
16th of August.

J. CROPLEY.

I won't pretend to give you News, but *Mick* says we have none. I beg my best respects and good wishes to your Sons.

* Meaning Lord *Shaftesbury's* Marriage.

LETTER II.

Dear SIR,

October the 6th.

THE Marriage of our Friend must be my excuse, for no sooner acknowledging so kind a Letter, as I about that time receiv'd from you. But really, as private and as little to do as there was done in it, yet it gave me more business than I expected. You must long ere this know, that his Lady is a daughter of Mr. Ewer of Hertfordshire, where that Family have been seated ever since Henry the 7th's time. I gave you, I remember, a pretty full account of all, but her Name, in my Letter: so that I will only now say of it, that I believe no man ever had a Wife, that his own life and happiness wou'd go on more the same, and undisturb'd in all parts of it, than he has. My Lord, by going too soon unto his *Reigate* house, got a severe Cold; but he's so perfectly recover'd, as to be much better than I have seen him in some years past. You wou'd now be as much rejoic'd, and indeed surpriz'd, to see the good signs of Health in him; as you were concern'd, in seeing him last at *Chelsey*. The change is so great, that I don't doubt but the Publick too, one way or other, will have good signs of it. My Lord Treasurer has most kindly writ to congratulate him; and my Lord has write a Letter in answer, with more personal honour and esteem, than I am sure he ever writ a Minister before. By the way, now I am speaking of Compliments, on this occasion I hear a certain person, at your Lord † Lieutenant's, gave a pretty odd account of the Lady, or rather of my Lord; by saying, she was far from being young. Indeed if that had been wanting in any Match, it wou'd have made it a sad affair. But she is but twenty. So I

† At Lord Wharton's,

can't but fancy, some odd wrong person must have
been nam'd for him: or is it not a feature of the
old leaven, a breaking out of some old Whipping for
past sins committed, that can never be forgiven?
And this was more strange, to make such a delibe-
rate Act of his, and that he was so difficult to be
brought to, pass for a sudden rash one, when Youth
was also taken away. But some are so keen and
envious of Characters, as to be sometimes pretty pre-
posterous in their schemes to defame by. My
Lord is now with me, and enjoins me to give you
his most faithful respects and thanks, for all your
kind concern and good wishes. I am with unfeign'd
respect and sincerity,

Dear S I R,

Your most faithful obedient

humble Servant,

J. CROPLEY



can't but fancy, some odd wrong person must have been nam'd for him: or is it not a feature of the old leaven, a breaking out of some old *Whiggism*, for past sins committed, that can never be forgiven? And this was more strange, to make such a deliberate Act of his, and that he was so difficult to be brought to, pass for a sudden rash one, when Youth was also taken away. But some are so keen and envious of Characters, as to be sometimes pretty preposterous in their schemes to defame by. My Lord is now with me, and enjoins me to give you his most faithful respects and thanks, for all your kind concern and good wishes. I am with unfeign'd respect and sincerity,

Dear SIR.

Your most faithful, obedient

Humble Servant,

J. CROPLEY.

